



ANARCHY a journal of DESIRE ARMED

Number 11

DISARM AUTHORITY! ARM YOUR DESIRES!

April, 1986

Life is for living

IN THIS ISSUE!

NEWS IN REVIEW.....p.2

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST
NEWS.....p.3

THE PAPALAGI: Stone crates, stone
islands, fissures and the things in
between.....p.4

COLUMBIA IN PERSPECTIVE: The
politics of "Reality".....p.5

THE FEDERAL PROGRAMME OF THE
WEST GERMAN GREENS; Pt.1...p.6

THE BADGUY REPORT: The club
dekrepit bust—two years after....p.8

ECOLOGY AS IDEOLOGY: A review
of Bioregionalism and Ecological
Politics.....p.8

WINNING HEARTS AND MINDS: A
story by Gerry Reith.....p.9

LETTERS.....p.10

News in Review

edited by Lev Chernyi

Missouri National Guard in Honduras

Honduras is, next to Haiti, the poorest country in the western hemisphere. More than 60% of its 4.2 million population is employed in agriculture, yet 1% of the population owns 40% of the land.

About 3,100 members of the Missouri Army National Guard (MANG) are now building a road in the north-central highlands of Honduras. MANG units are going for 10 overlapping 17-day training periods, January through May. They are constructing a 13-mile (21 kilometer) road between Yoro and Jocon in the Aguan Valley. Colonel Robert Harris of the 135th Engineering Group of Cape Girardeau will command the task force. Other guard units from various states are involved in similar activities, although Governors Dukakis of Massachusetts and Brennan of Maine have refused to let their troops go at all.

The Guard is, of course, building the road to assist the contras and the growing U.S. military presence in Central America. MANG is issued live ammo during these "training exercises" and Ellen Whitt, political scientist at Washington Univ. in St. Louis, says that each U.S. military activity in the last 6 years in the area has involved road and airfield construction near contra bases. Even the General Accounting Office (GAO) says the Reagan administration uses these "training exercises" to build military facilities in Honduras without Congressional approval. The GAO also tells us that the Honduran government contributes various materials for construction, but is then reimbursed for them via U.S. foreign aid.

It's apparently easier to use MANG than a draft to further the Central

American war effort. Spending National Guard funds for "training" also helps conceal the costs of constructing a military infrastructure in Honduras.

It seems clear enough why MANG is there. Unless you're Captain Robert MacNevin, MANG public relations officer. He feels, for example, that Panamanians who met MANG in the winter of 1985 "realized that Americans are friendly people who would share their lunch with them and show them pictures of their kids and try to talk to them in broken Spanish." MacNevin feels that a by-product of "Blazing Trails '86" in Honduras will be "goodwill." He might have said the same about road building in Vietnam in 1962.

And MacNevin is not alone. MANG Adjutant General Charles M. Kiefner, in response to a letter concerning all this road building, wrote, "I hope that when you have all the facts available you will join all the other proud Missourians in applauding their fellow citizens' efforts to raise the quality of life for Hondurans in that remote area."

Since Kiefner is so concerned about quality of life, one can only hope he'll soon visit surviving victims of contra attacks. He could then make an even better case for why we should be spending millions of dollars, as we chug over potholes and watch banks seize our farms, to build roads to "help" Honduran farmers. Or maybe he'll visit the peasants of San Jose del Potrero in the Honduran Dept. of Comoyagua, where 1,200 peasants are to be (and may already have been) forcibly relocated so U.S. and Honduran forces can construct a military base and airstrip.

In all, the U.S. has constructed 11

airstrips in Honduras during the past 2 years. By General Kiefner's logic, this is probably because so many peasants commute via airplane.

However, since Kiefner probably hates to see tax dollars wasted, he could assess the results of MANG priorities right here in Missouri. Last fall Mayor William Waggoner requested that the Missouri Guard help clear Loose Creek, near Elsberry, MO. MANG representatives visited the town and plans were approved to work on the creek. In fact,

The contras: U.S. at war!

Not content with creating and manipulating an unofficial U.S. proxy war with Nicaragua, President Reagan is now seeking his own "Gulf of Tonkin" incident to justify widening the war. And the reported (by U.S. intelligence, at least) Nicaraguan incursion into Honduran territory at the end of March was almost the bait he needed to encourage a recalcitrant, but certainly still pro-imperialist, Congress to go along with his plans.

For those who don't remember, the Gulf of Tonkin resolution of 1964 gave President Lyndon Johnson the expanded powers he needed to launch a full-scale war against northern and southern Vietnam. The pretext was an attack on the destroyer Maddox, which the U.S. government claimed was "unprovoked"—although, of course, at the time the U.S. refused to admit that the Maddox was actually engaged in supporting covert commando missions in Vietnam.

Reagan himself has already shown

insurance and lodging had already been arranged for Guard members assigned to clear the creek when, in late November, the Guard cancelled the whole project. Waggoner says he found out later that MANG was working in Honduras. "To think," he said, "that they'd take Missouri tax money out of the country to build a road in Honduras is ridiculous."

Make sure General Kiefner, Captain MacNevin, Governor Ashcroft and others like them know how you feel about MANG being in Honduras. Or if you're in the Guard, now is the time to get out, or to think about how to refuse cooperation here, or in Honduras.

by Jimi Otter

a talent for stage-managed duplicity that is certainly the equal of his genocidal predecessor's administration. But so far at least, Reagan has surprisingly failed in his quest to provoke an all-out, full-scale war in Central America. And at least part of the reason for his failure is probably due to the transparent similarities of his machinations to those of Johnson, McNamara, etc. in the U.S./Vietnam debacle.

Despite Reagan's characterization of the contras as "freedom-fighters," all the evidence points to the conclusion that they are little more than mercenaries hired by the U.S. to topple the

Continued on next page

Local politics:

'Development' for Mayor!

With the mayoral election of April 1st now past, we can look back at the surprising write-in re-election of incumbent Rodney Smith and wonder what difference it will really make. After all, regardless of who wins the mayoral race there's never any question that the ideology of "development" will accompany their election every three years.

This year will certainly be no exception, despite the defeat of Steve Willey, a well-known realtor and advocate of "planned" development. Like his predecessor, John Westlund, who used his chairmanship of the Columbia Planning and Zoning Commission as the traditional springboard to the Mayor's office, Willey publicly established his pro-development (and anti-democratic) credentials while paving the way for businesses and speculators to invade more neighborhoods and further devastate our local environment.

In a town dominated by pro-development interests (realtors, land speculators, landlords, bankers, retail businessmen, etc.) the only surprise in this election is that the mayor is once again an ineffectual, if affable, tree-trimmer. But it's still no secret that the Columbia Planning and Zoning Commission is actually (as one irate resident once put it) a "Profit by Rezoning Commission." And it should also be clear by now that whoever is elected mayor, development always wins.

some people don't like leaders
but nobody likes a
SNITCH!



HOLLYWOOD

Unmasking Informant T-10

Ronald Reagan's acting career hit a lull in the late 1940s. Despite parts in minor films such as *The Voice of the Turtle* and *Thar Hagen Girl*, he became increasingly preoccupied with his more important role during Hollywood's "Red Scare" as head of the Screen Actors Guild. It was revealed last week that the future President played another role as well: as a secret FBI informant, code name T-10. According to an article published in the *San Jose Mercury News*, documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act indicate that Reagan and his first wife, Actress Jane Wyman, provided federal agents with the names of actors they believed were Communist sympathizers.



Reagan in '52

Urbane Gorilla, P.O.B. 02455, Detroit, MI. 48202

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ANARCHY
c/o C.A.L.
P.O. Box 380
Columbia, MO. 65205

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International Anarchist News

A history of the Anarchist Black Cross

The Anarchist Red Cross was first organized in Tzarist Russia in order to both organize aid for political prisoners and deportees, and to organize self-defense against political raids by Cossacks. In this latter capacity it also helped organize Jewish workers' self-defense against pogroms. It was sustained financially by Russian anarchists in America, particularly in Chicago. However, during the Russian Civil War, when the (non-anarchist) Red Cross was also active in organizing relief, the name was changed to the Anarchist Black Cross to avoid confusion.

After the Russian revolution was lost (when the Bolsheviks seized power) the Black Cross moved to Berlin (still with its major funding coming from Chicago anarchists) and continued to aid Russian prisoners, now victims of the new Communist regime and its terror, along with the victims of Italian Fascism and prisoners of the post-war German reaction. Finally, when Germany succumbed to fascism, and the depression hit America, the decline in the amount of financial aid and the huge wave of people needing that support broke the back of the organization. Nevertheless, Chicago anarchists remained a source of support up until recent times.

Of course, there were other anarchist relief organizations which also aided various groups of victims. These included the International Anti-Fascist Solidarity set up by the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist National Confederation of Labor during the Spanish Civil War, the Mutual Aid for Asian Prisoners (Indian and Chinese), and the Orphans Fund set up by the British anarchist paper, *Spain and the World*.

The Anarchist Black Cross was revived as a result of the imprisonment of English anarchist Stuart Christie in Spain in connection with a planned attempt on the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco's life. With the publicity his case attracted, he received solidarity from a great many countries and shared this with his fellow-anarchist prisoners. When Christie eventually returned to England, he began to aid Spanish anarchist prisoners with Albert Meltzer, who had himself taken on responsibility for the Mutual Aid for Asian Prisoners from M.P.T. Acharya in India. Aside from sending assistance to Spanish prisoners, the Black Cross also worked for the release of Spanish anarchist Miguel Garcia, who joined them in London on his own release to help the International Black Cross. Aside from aiding prisoners materially and through campaigns for their release, the Black Cross also assisted radical Spanish women to obtain abortions in England at a time when they

were unavailable in Spain (due to the heavy influence of the semi-fascist dictatorship and the authoritarian Catholic Church), and it arranged for the training of Spanish comrades in the craft of offset litho printing, along with donating duplicators, xerox and offset presses to the nascent Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement.

Though it wasn't their intention to set up Black Cross groups in other countries, such groups sprung up in many places--and were particularly strong in Italy and Germany. But those groups have not been without their own problems, including the murder of Pinelli, the secretary of the Black Cross in Milan, who was thrown a police station window by Italian cops. And in Germany Georg von Rauch, secretary of the Black Cross in Berlin, was also gunned down by police.

Internationally, the Black Cross in recent years has helped obtain the release of Goliardo Fiaschi (who had been imprisoned by Franco's regime), helped save the Murrys from execution in Ireland (though they are still in prison with life-sentences), and helped expand the protests that led to the release of Black American activist Martin Sostre. Their greatest disappointment has been that they have not been able to help the other Black American anarchist prisoner, Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, who is apparently still in prison (last known to be in Leavenworth prison, although his mail to that address is invariably returned "addressee unknown"). Ervin was jailed for his resistance to American involvement in Vietnam--ironically, the only Vietnam "war criminal" in U.S. jails. He has been locked up behind a wall of silence as effective as anything behind

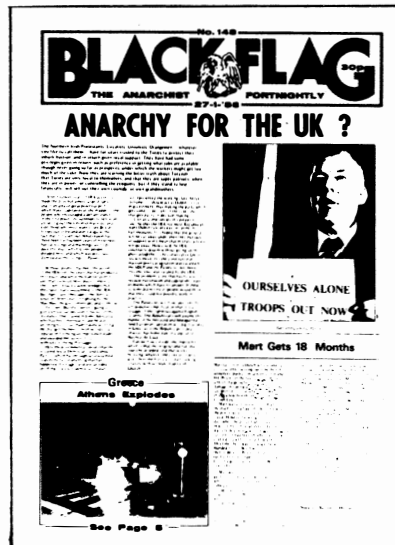


Miguel Garcia

was premeditated policy to terrorize civilian noncombatants to prevent them from cooperating with the Government. Hundreds of civilian murders, mutilations, tortures and rapes were committed in pursuit of this policy, of which the 'contra' leaders and their C.I.A. superiors were well aware."

In this context, it is easier to understand why Congress did not entirely rise to Reagan's bait when Nicaraguan troops chased a group of "contra" terrorists over the border to their U.S. provided sanctuaries in Honduras. Even the Honduran government would have liked to refuse Reagan's propaganda ploy of transforming this minor incident into a justification for a wider war. As one Honduran daily put it in its headline, "Washington tells Honduras we are at war."

Unfortunately, while Reagan lost this battle, he will likely win his war--at least with the U.S. Congress, which will soon give in to his demands for tens of millions of dollars worth of "lethal" aid to be funnelled to his proxy contra army. Unless, of course, more of us are willing to put ourselves on the line to stop him. Most people may not realize it yet, but **we're at war with Central America.**



the Iron Curtain.

In fact, prison governors have sometimes been overwhelmed by the response stirred up by the Black Cross. When Brenda Christie was arrested on a trumped up terrorist-association charge in West Germany, the judge protested that he had never been so deluged with complaints from all over the world. The French examining judge in another case--involving Jean Weir and Octavio Alberola--claimed a nervous breakdown as a result of the same "mistreatment."

Currently the Black Cross, along with many others, is trying to save the

Anarchy notes

Sorry, we forgot to credit the German anarchist paper *Engel Lucifer* for our the cover of our Feb./March '86 issue. The cover for this issue comes from *Advent #2*, available from P.O.Box 590564, San Francisco, CA. 94159.

We remain on the lookout for local graphic art, comix, and short stories. Submissions of articles are also encouraged, although they should be consistent with an anarchist perspective for a maximum chance of consideration. We can always use more contributions, and even subscriptions help out a little--still only \$3/6 issues from:

Anarchy
c/o Columbia Anarchist League
P.O.Box 380
Columbia, MO. 65205

We print 5,000 to 7,000 copies of each issue, and for those who know the costs of printing, that's obviously not cheap. If you'd like to help with fund-raising or distribution, etc., don't hesitate to contact us!

life of Japanese anarchist K. Omori who is currently appealing a death sentence.

The Black Cross in London also publishes a fortnightly newspaper, *Black Flag*, along with engaging in numerous solidarity activities within the British anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist movements. For more information or to subscribe to *Black Flag*, write to:

Black Flag/Black Cross
BM Hurricane
London WC1N 3XX
England

Mayday '86 An anarchist gathering

On May 4, 1886, 3,000 people assembled at Haymarket Square in Chicago. The rally had been called to protest the lockout tactics of the McCormick Machine Co. and the action of the Chicago police, who the previous day had fired into a crowd of fleeing strikers, killing four of them. It was a quiet meeting, and all but a few hundred persons had left when a detachment of 180 policemen showed up and ordered the crowd to disperse. A bomb then exploded in the midst of the police, wounding 66 cops, of whom seven later died. The police fired into the crowd, killing several people and wounding two hundred.

Although there was no evidence concerning who threw the bomb, eight anarchists (most of whom were not even present) were tried and sentenced to death. A year after the trial, four of the convicted anarchists were hanged. Louis Lingg, a twenty-one year old anarchist carpenter, took his own life in his cell. Three remained imprisoned.

The Haymarket bombing and the subsequent trial and execution took place in the context of the massive 8-hour movement which was then sweeping the nation, with Chicago as its center. On May 1st 1886, 800,000 workers throughout the U.S. had went on strike in support of the 8-hour day, while in Chicago 300,000 had marched. Because the burgeoning Chicago anarchist movement was at the center of Chicago's radical labor activities, the eight activists scapegoated by authorities were also anarchists.

The anarchist movement in Chicago was eclipsed, though the 8-hour day was eventually won for most U.S. workers. And as a result of the Chicago events, an International Labor Congress adopted May 1st as an international workers' holiday at the request of an American AFL delegate. Since then May Day has become a day of international labor solidarity, although in the U.S. its meaning has been effectively hidden.

Now, one hundred years after the Haymarket events, a worldwide gathering of anarchists will take place in Chicago

in commemoration. It is expected to be the largest anarchist gathering on this continent in many years. Workshops will include discussions of the meaning of anarchy, personal politics, and alternative communities. Cultural events include Chicago punk bands, anarchist films, videos and slides, and an anarchist art exhibit. Three demonstrations and a banquet are also planned. For further information contact:

Impossible Books
Box 102
1200 W. Fullerton
Chicago, IL. 60614

Or contact the Columbia Anarchist League.



The contra war

Continued from page 2

Nicaraguan government in order to share in the spoils of war--all the privileges that would come as leaders of a new Nicaraguan client regime. As an ex-member of the FDN (the principal contra group) directorate wrote to the *New York Times* in reply to FDN claims to independence, "For them to claim that the 'contras' are not, and never will be, the instrument of a foreign power' is laughable. When I joined the FDN in 1981, I hoped it would be controlled by Nicaraguans and dedicated to objectives we would determine. But the 'contras' were, and are, a proxy army controlled by the U.S. government."

He further contends that "If U.S. support were terminated, they would not only be incapable of conducting any military activities against the Sandinistas, but would also immediately begin to disintegrate. I resigned rather than continue as a Central Intelligence Agency puppet."

"It is cynical to assert that the 'contras' respect human rights. During my four years as a 'contra' director, it

THE PAPALAGI

SPEECHES BY
TUIAVII OF TIAVEA
A SAMOAN CHIEF

Collected by Erich Scheurmann
Illustrations by Joost Swarte
Translated by Martin Beumer

Editor's note: The Papalagi (pronounced pā-pā-lā-hē, or so I was told by the original English publishers, Real Free Press in Amsterdam) is a collection of speeches written by the South Pacific chief Tuiavii of Tiavea and intended for his people. They first appeared in a German edition sometime in the early twenties, in a translation by his friend Eric Scheurmann. A translation was published in Dutch in 1929, from which the English translation was then made in 1971. As becomes quickly apparent when one reads it, *The Papalagi* is a sort of critical reverse anthropology in which white, European civilization is thoroughly dissected and evaluated with the puzzled contempt that it so well deserves from the "primitive" perspective.



he Papalagi live like crustaceans in their concrete houses. They live between the stones, the way a centipede lives inside the cracks of the lava. There are stones above him, around him and under him. His hut looks like a stone crate. A crate with holes in it and divided in cubicles.

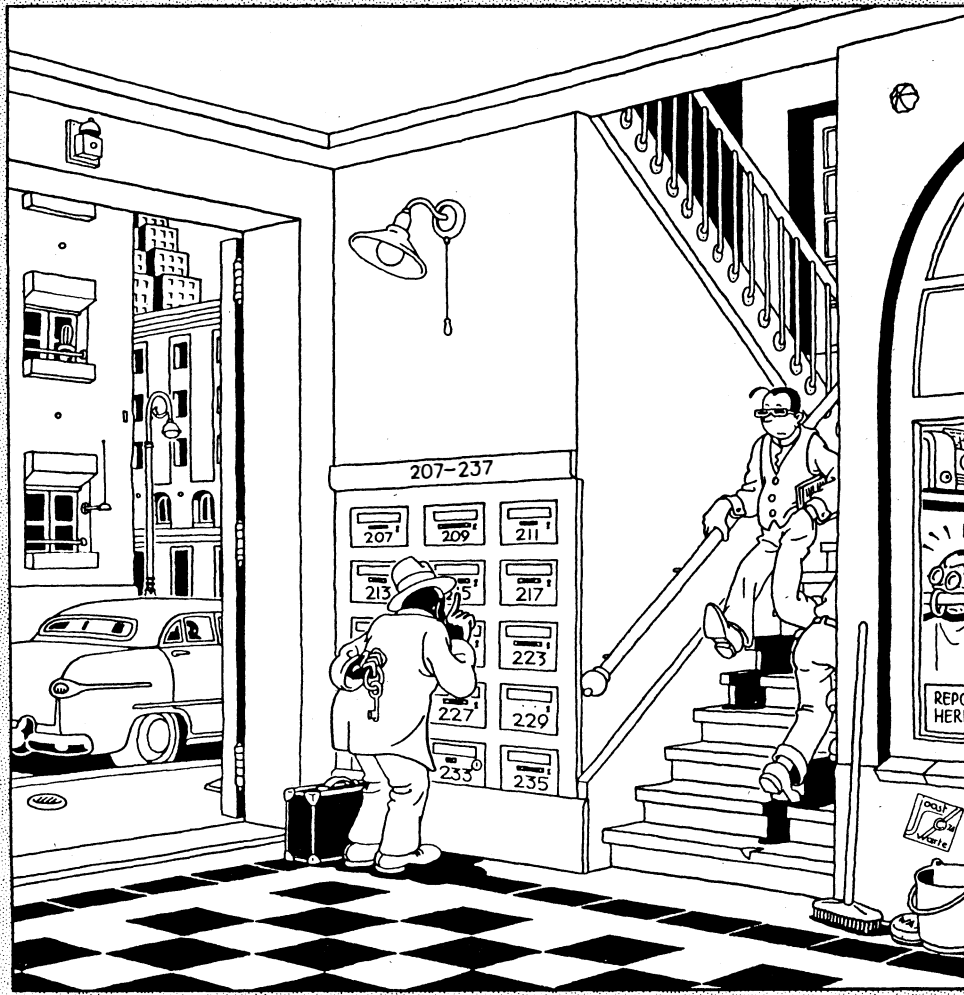
Only in one spot can you enter and leave these stone dwelling-places. The Papalagi call that spot the entrance when it's used for entering the hut and the exit upon leaving it, though it's one and the same spot. Tied to that spot is a large wooden wing that one has to shove aside forcefully in order to enter. But that's only the beginning; many wooden wings have to be pushed aside before one is truly inside the hut.

In most of these huts, more people live than in an entire Samoan village. Therefore, when you pay somebody a visit, you must know the exact name of the aiga (family) you want to see. As every aiga has its own part of the stone crate to live in, the upper part or the lower one, the part in the middle or the one on the right, the left or the one in front. And often, one aiga knows nothing of the other aiga even if they are only separated by a stone wall and not by Manono, Apolina or Savaii (three islands belonging to the Samoan Group).

Between those crates, the Papalagi spend their whole life. Now in one crate, then in the other, depending on the position of the sun.

Often, they hardly know each others names and when they meet at the hole where they slink inside, they greet one another with a curt movement of the head or they grunt like hostile insects. As if they are angry for living so close together.

When an aiga lives all the way on the top, just under the roof of the hut, he who wants to visit them must climb on many branches that lead up in a circle or zig-zag until he comes to a place where the name of the aiga is written on the wall. Then, in front of his eyes he sees an elegant imitation of a female breast-gland that, when pressed upon emits a cry to call the aiga. Then the aiga looks through a small peephole to see if it is not an enemy that has pressed the gland. In



STONE CRATES, STONE ISLANDS, FISSURES AND THE THINGS IN BETWEEN

that case, he won't open up. But if he sees a friend, he unties the wooden wing and pulls it open, so the guest can enter the real hut through the opening.

Even that hut is divided by stone walls into several cubicles. By going through one wing after the other, you enter smaller and smaller cubicles. Every cubicle, called a room by the Papalagi, has a hole in the wall, the bigger ones sometimes having two or three for letting light in. These holes are covered with a piece of glass that can be removed when fresh air has to be admitted into the room, something that's very necessary. There are also many cubicles without holes for light and air.

People like us would suffocate rapidly in crates like that, for there's never a fresh breeze like there is in every Samoan hut. The fumes from the cooking shacks can escape neither. Most of the time the air that comes from outside isn't much better. It's hard to understand that people survive in those circumstances, that they don't change themselves into birds of yearning, grow wings and fly off to look for the sun and the fresh air. But the Papalagi are very fond of their stone crates and don't even feel their badness anymore.

Every cubicle serves its own function. The biggest and best lit one serves the family for the fono (greetings) and the reception of guests and another room is reserved for sleeping. There the sleeping-mats lie, or more precise, are spread out on a wooden scaffolding that

stands on high legs, so the air can circulate under the mats. A third cubicle is used for ingesting food and producing billows of smoke. In a fourth one the food is kept, the fifth is used for its preparation and the last and smallest cubicle is used for bathing. This is the nicest room. The walls are hung with mirrors, the floor is decorated with gaudy tiles and in the center there stands a large bowl, made from metal or stone and filled with sunned or unsunned water. Into that bowl, perhaps larger than a king's grave, the Papalagi climbs to wash himself and wash away the sands of the stone crates. Of course there are crates with even more cubicles. There are even some where every child has his own and every servant as well, even their dogs and horses.

Between those crates, the Papalagi spend their whole life. Now in one crate, then in the other, depending on the position of the sun. Their children grow up inside those crates, high above the ground, higher than the highest palm-tree. From time to time the Papalagi leave their private crates, as they call it, to go to a crate where they do their tasks and don't want to be disturbed by the presence of wife and children. In the meantime the women and girls are busy in the cooking-shack, preparing the dishes, shining footskins or washing loincloths. When they are rich enough to keep servants, then they do the work, while they themselves go paying visits or go out buying the fresh food.

In Europe as many people as

there are living on Samoa live this way and perhaps even more. There are a few people however, that carry a great longing for the sun, the light and the woods, but as a rule this is considered a disease against which one has to shield himself. When someone is unhappy in this stony life, the others say that it's not natural, by which they mean: he doesn't know what God has wanted him to be.

Now those crates often stand close together, in large numbers, not even separated by a palm-tree or a bush, like people standing shoulder to shoulder and inside every crate as many people live as there are living in an entire Samoan village. And directly opposite, only a stone's throw away, a second row of crates stands, also shoulder to shoulder and people living in there as well. So in between the two rows there's only a narrow fissure left that the Papalagi call a street. Sometimes these fissures are as long as rivers and covered with hard stones. One has to walk far to find an open spot and on that open spot, many other stone fissures come together. Those also are as long as fresh-water creeks and interconnected by fissures of equal length. For days on end you can walk through these cracks without coming upon a wood or seeing a bit of blue sky. Looking up from out of those fissures you hardly ever see a bit of clear expanse, because inside every hut at least one fire is burning and most of the time several fires at once. So the heavens are always filled with smoke and ashes, like after an eruption of the volcano on Savaii. The ashes rain down into the cracks, so that the stone crates have gotten the color of the mud from the mangrove swamps and the people get black soot in their eye and hair and grit between their teeth.

Still the Papalagi walk around in those fissures from morning till night. There are even some that do it with a certain passion. I have seen cracks where there was a bustle all the time and through which a mass of people flowed like thick muck. In these streets enormous glass boxes are built, in which all sorts of things are laid out that the Papalagi needs for his living: loincloths, hand and foot-skins, head-ornaments, foodstuffs, meat and also real fruits and vegetables and many other things. Those things are laid out in a way so that everybody can see them and they appear very inviting. But nobody is allowed to take

For days on end you can walk through these cracks without coming upon a wood or seeing a bit of blue sky.

anything from there, even if he needs it very badly, only after getting permission first and after making a sacrifice.

There are many fissures where danger lurks from all sides, because people not only walk up against one another, but they also drive up against one another, borne inside large glass chests, gliding on metal runners. There's a tremendous noise. Our ears begin to hoot from the horses striking the pavement with

Continued on page 7

Columbia in perspective by Lev Chernyi

The politics of "Reality"

For me, it is self-evident that each of us experiences our own world through a unique perspective which is also irreducibly our own--which by its nature is never **directly** shared with anyone else. In itself, this fact is neither good nor bad, desirable nor undesirable, something to embrace, to escape, or to condemn. Rather it is the very condition under which our lives as unique individuals find their possibility.

From within these inalienable and irreducible perspectives we each experience a **world** which is similarly unique. In fact, for each of us the unique character of our **perspective** on our world is ultimately inseparable from the unique **world** our perspective opens out onto. In other words, both our perspective and our world are mutually implied parts of the single unique whole of our **lived experience**.

Although, then again, it would probably be more accurate to say that we "live through" our unique, unmediated and indivisible experience **before** we ever make such distinctions between our perspectives and the worlds they open out onto, since these distinctions are largely conceptual and linguistic in nature. They are largely created after the fact to help us conceptually account for an experience which is ultimately beyond conceptual accounting. After all, concepts can make nice sign-posts and boundary markers. And they are indispensable to our communication through language. But when it comes to the experience we actually **live**, our realities are always between the lines of linguistic description and beyond conceptual categorization.

In a real sense we live in an ambiguous and hazy zone of an unchartable landscape whose features are of necessity (i.e. by their nature) always in semi-obscurity. The much abused eastern notion of "enlightenment" is in its best sense only a poor metaphor for this realization (both as it is conceptualized and as it is lived) for just this reason. In western terms the word "enlightenment" often instead suggests the pure illumination of an absolute Reality seen from an omniscient and absolute perspective (an illusory conceptualization shared in important ways both by Christianity and the ideologies of science). And it is thus often misconstrued for this. The metaphor of "awakening" can create similar confusions. In fact, there are probably no straightforward and unambiguous metaphors for the experience I'm trying to point out, just because of its ineffable nature.

However, despite the ultimate incommensurability of each of our unique and individual experiences, perspectives and worlds, we obviously **do** in another sense live in the **same** world. This is possible precisely because our perspectives and our worlds always constitute two sides or poles that lie embedded in our experience. These poles can also be conceptualized as the subject-pole and object-pole of experience. And it is precisely because we are both subjects and objects that we can show a side of ourselves to others at the same time that our own perspective can open out to illuminate the faces of other people.

It is the dialectical interac-

tion which ensues from this situation --in which we both influence and are influenced by other people--that gives birth to the idea of an objective or absolute Reality, beyond the individual lived realities that we experience directly. The dialectic of human relationships tends to find a systematic expression in enduring **social forms and interpretive conceptual categories**--cultural patterns, institutions, social habits and expectations--which in turn influence our perspectives through the power of the collective force behind them. They come to be seen as objective, not only in the sense of being collective conventions, but in the "objective Reality" they tend to be invested with.

Especially in the more alienated industrial societies a certain type of consensual social reality tends to be singled out and invested with the authority of a **paramount objective Reality** according to which all individual lived realities are appraised, devalued and found wanting. Despite the fact that this paramount Reality remains only a collective convention, it commands such uni-

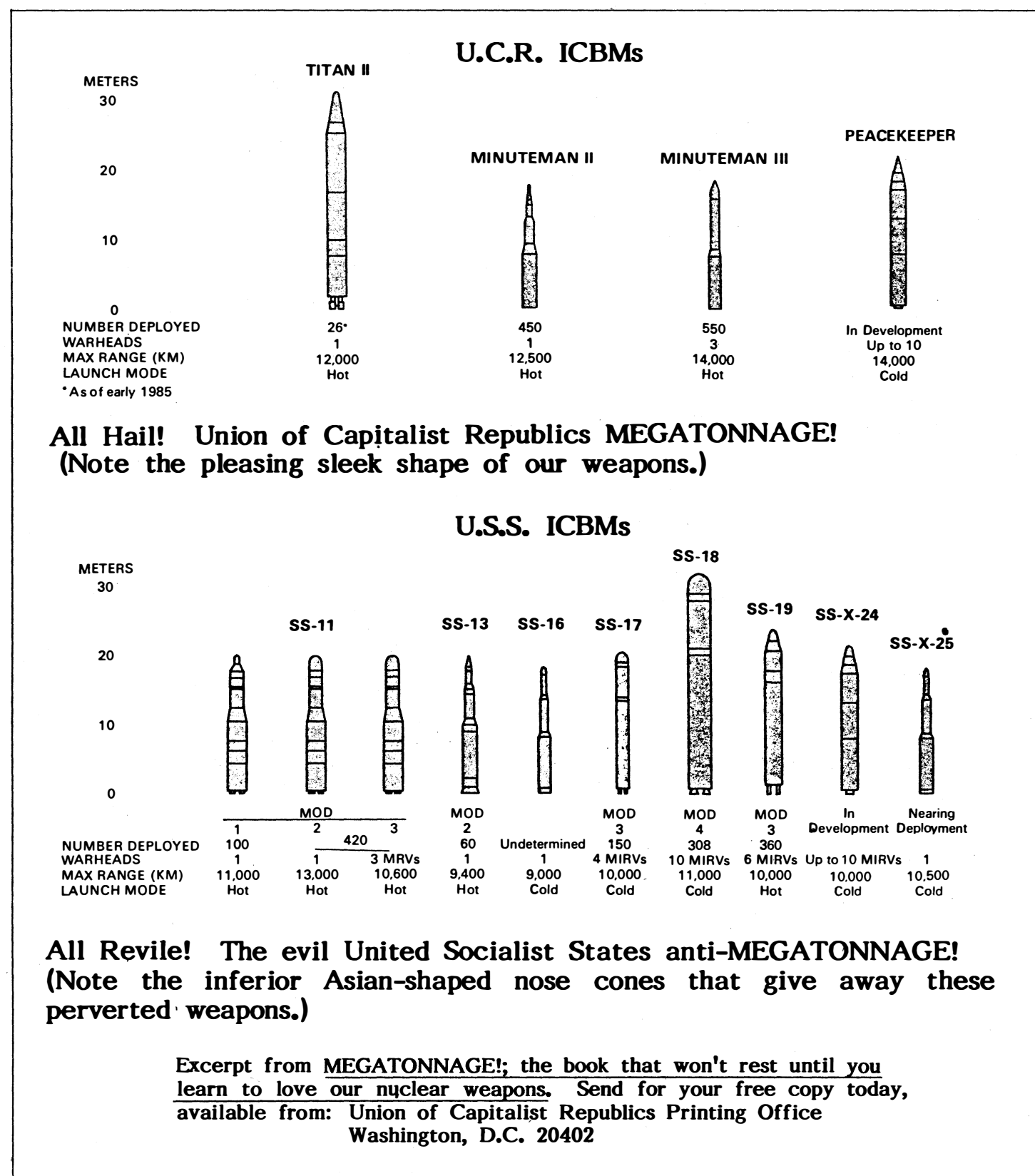
versal allegiance that the pressures it exerts on us usually seem almost impossible to resist or circumvent. Even the simplest attempt to communicate with another person usually requires at least a compromise with the terms of discourse required by this illusory Reality, if not a complete surrender to its logic and limits.

On the one hand it really isn't any wonder to me that most people continually flounder around--unable to make heads or tails of why our social reality is so perversely skewed--trying to adjust themselves to an alienated idea of an objective Reality with which they can find no solid and organic relation. They have long lost their **own** unique sense of their lived reality, or at least they cannot see it as having any significant validity in comparison with our more and more universally imposed paramount Reality. After all, every officially approved and socially legitimated indicator seems to tell us that we are each essentially worthless. They tell us that our own unique perspectives are only replaceable parts of a

larger social machine, if not entirely illusory and outdated features of something even newer, a social leviathan whose dimensions we cannot yet grasp.

On the other hand though, we all probably still retain at least a hint of an insight into what we have each and all lost, and of what we might once again regain--the ability and power to both individually and collectively, personally and socially, redefine and expand our lived realities beyond the artificial limits and conceptual categories of this seemingly ubiquitous and omnipotent paramount Reality. Despite the obstacles to such a far-reaching project, it remains within our powers to collectively and personally recover our freedom to live in a social world of our own making, rather than settling for life in an alienating Reality that is intrinsically uninteresting at best and deadly oppressive at worst--precisely because it is not our own.

When we finally begin to realize that each of us in our thousands of daily acts, thoughts and relations weave together the social fabric that makes up the city of Columbia and its surrounding social landscape, then maybe we will be able to take the next step and begin to **live** our actual desires for a change instead of the counterfeit lives we currently settle for.



The Federal Programme of the West German Greens; Part I

Editor's introduction

The West German Green Party is a relatively new party which breaks many of the conventional rules of traditional political party organization and behavior. An amalgamation of many "partial movements" into one organization, it groups environmentalists, feminists, independent leftists, Christian peace groups, anti-nuclear groups, and even some German (ex?) anarchists in a political party which attempts to unite and provide a parliamentary voice for these disparate oppositional elements. The West German Greens became an overnight sensation in international leftist circles when they managed to gain enough of the West German vote in the last federal elections (March, 1983) to have 28 Green representatives enter the West German Bundestag. This was a not insignificant feat for a nominally radical party built on a very active and relatively autonomous base. However, as might be expected with any such project the internal contradictions of the German Greens are becoming more evident. A divergence has already opened between parliamentarist pressures to become a "serious", professionally represented political party, and the base groups which often have more radical and far-ranging agendas. We see the Green programme as being significant both for its insights and for its pitfalls. Along with the Polish Solidarity Movement, it represents one of the more important of the recent social movements which include elements of libertarian perspectives in their organization and goals.

I. Preamble (draft)

Introduction

We are the alternative to the traditional parties. We arose from a merger of Green, multi-colored and alternative lists and parties. We see ourselves as linked to all those working together in the new democratic movement: groups for the protection of life, nature and environment, citizens' initiatives, the workers' movement, Christian initiatives, peace, human rights, women's and Third World movements. We consider ourselves part of the Green movement throughout the world.

The established parties in Bonn behave as if an infinite increase in industrial production was possible on the finite planet Earth. As a result, they are leading us to the hopeless alternative between nuclear state and nuclear war, Harrisburg or Hiroshima, as they themselves admit. The global ecological crisis is becoming daily more acute: raw materials are getting scarce, one poison scandal follows another, animal species are being exterminated, plant species becoming extinct. Rivers and oceans are turned into sewers, human beings are threatened with mental and spiritual atrophy in the midst of a late-industrial and consumer society, and we are burdening future generations with a deadly inheritance.

The destruction of the very basis of life and work, and the demolition of democratic rights, have reached such a threatening scale as to make necessary a fundamental alternative in economics, politics and society. This is why a democratic citizens' movement arose spontaneously. Thousands of citizens' initiatives were formed, embarking on powerful demonstrations against the construction of nuclear power stations because the risks these involve cannot be evaded and their radioactive waste cannot be deposited anywhere. These citizens' initiatives have also arisen against the devastation of nature,

Notes

In order to better illustrate the convergences as well as the divergences of the German Greens' programme with a radical anarchist perspective, a series of margin notes by Lev Chernyi accompany the text.

Here, the Greens presumably mean that they are "the alternative party to the traditional parties," since non-party alternatives continue to exist. As usual, when a group of this type makes such claims, it is usually far more accurate for it to say that it is "an alternative," rather than attempting to define other alternatives (whether party or non-party) out of existence.

"The demolition of democratic rights" in Germany as well as the rest of the industrialized countries is a misleading concept unless one keeps in mind that these "rights" have traditionally been insubstantial for all but the rich and powerful. The bourgeois republican/

the concreting over of our countryside, and the causes and consequences of a throwaway society which has become a danger to life.

A radical reorganization of our short-sighted economic rationality is essential. We do not accept that the present economy of waste promotes happiness and a fulfilling life. On the contrary. People are becoming more and more agitated and unfree. Only if we free ourselves from over-valuing the material standard of living, if we again make self-fulfilment possible and bear in mind the boundaries of our nature, will our creative forces also be freed for reshaping life on an ecological basis.

We consider it necessary to supplement activities outside parliament by work in the municipal councils, state parliaments and Bundestag. There we seek to create awareness and acceptance of our political alternatives. In this way we shall open up a further opportunity for the citizens' and grassroots initiatives to carry through their wishes and ideas.

Green, multicoloured and alternative lists have had their first electoral successes. The 5 percent clause and other aggravations cannot hold them back any longer. We shall not participate in a government which continues the process of destruction. Instead we shall try to win support in the pursuit of our objectives even from the established parties, and vote for proposals from other parties which correspond with our own goals.

As against the one-dimensional policy of increased production we put forward a global conception. Our policy is governed by long-term future considerations, and guided by four basic principles: it is ecological, social, grassroots-democratic and non-violent.

Ecological

Proceeding from the laws of nature, and especially from the knowledge that unlimited growth is impossible in a limited system, an ecological policy means understanding ourselves and our environment as part of nature. Human life, too, is enmeshed in the circuits of the ecosystem: we intervene in it by our actions and this reacts back on us. We must not destroy the stability of the ecosystem.

In particular, an ecological policy implies all-round rejection of an economy based on exploitation and the uncontrolled pillage of natural wealth and raw materials, as well as refraining from destructive intervention in the circuits of the natural ecosystem. It is our conviction that the exploitation of both nature and human beings must be countered by human beings, in order to repel an acute and serious threat to life.

Our policy is a policy of active partnership with nature and human beings. It is most successful in self-governing and self-sufficient economic and administrative units, of a humanly surveyable size. We stand for an economic system oriented to the necessities of human life today and for future generations, to the preservation of nature and a careful management of natural resources. We want a society which is democratic and in which relations between people and with nature are handled with increased awareness.

In order to carry through such changes in the face of the prevailing power relationships, we need a political movement in which the interrelated values of human solidarity and democracy are fundamental, and which thoroughly repudiates a way of thinking oriented to output and hierarchy governed by a lethal competition. These social and economic changes can only be achieved democratically and with the support of the majority of the population.

Social

A social policy must aim at the establishment of a stable social system. Above all, "social" has an economic dimension.

Through continuous price increases and government policies of taxation and subsidies, income and wealth differentials between rich and poor are being sharpened still further. We are against a work process ruled by economic power, and leading to a situation where a few people can decide not only what happens to the products of work but even on the very existence of many other people. This is shown by the coexistence of unemployment on the one hand and inhuman living conditions on the other.

The destruction of the living environment, ever longer journeys to work, commercialization of leisure and of the enjoyment of nature all lead to a

Continued on next page

democratic tradition has never maintained much of a commitment to **genuine** and **direct** democracy--the prerequisite for any substantial "democratic rights." Nonetheless, recent attacks on those remaining rights with the most substance (like the freedoms of speech and assembly) **do** threaten to involve a qualitative change from an authoritarian pseudo-democracy to explicitly anti-democratic and eventually totalitarian forms.

Anarchists are very leery of self-proclaimed radical movements which willingly enter into parliamentary activities. Such activities carry a heavy risk of eventually suppressing the more radical tendencies of the organization's "base" (as the Greens put it). Unfortunately, but realistically, it is probably only a matter of time until the parliamentarist wing succeeds in co-opting the party by detaching it from the more radical elements of its extra-parliamentary base.

A genuinely ecological policy which rejects "an economy based on exploitation and the uncontrolled pillage of natural wealth and raw materials" would require the abolition of the private ownership of land, and of the consequent treatment of land as a commodity to be exchanged and exploited--however this does not appear to be the Greens' intent. Instead, the actual thrust of the Greens' ecological policy ironically seems to be the creation of more layers of regulatory bureaucracy within or alongside presently existing layers--with the basic difference being the "participatory" nature of the Greens' proposed bureaucracy. Needless to say this is hardly a radical basis for fundamental change.

The Greens' social policy is as timid as its ecological policy is bureaucratic. They appear to propose only a very limited form of "economic democracy," which would leave the fundamental principles of the capitalist economy intact (i.e. the private ownership of the means of social production, the exploitative wage system, the institution of money, the trade unions, and

real impoverishment, in spite of increased incomes. Besides low-income groups, other victims are children, young people, the old and the disabled.

These exploitative compulsions of growth arise from both the competitive economy and the concentration of economic power in state and private-capitalist monopolies, with consequences that threaten the utter pollution and destruction of the basis of human life. It is here that environmental protection and the ecology movement link up with the workers' movement and trade unions. We support a reduction in working time and humane working conditions.

The ecological, economic and social crisis can be countered only by the self-determination of those affected. Since we stand for self-determination and the free development of each human being, and since we want people to shape their lives creatively together in solidarity, in harmony with their natural environment, their own wishes and needs, and free from external threat—we take a radical stand for human rights and far-reaching democratic rights both at home and abroad.

Our social conditions generate immense social and mental misery. Particularly hard hit by this situation are sections of the population who are discriminated against by race, social group, religion, or sexuality. The social system is becoming increasingly unstable. The results are increased crime, higher suicide rates, drug consumption and alcoholism.

This social situation is also evident in the fact that women are discriminated against and suppressed in nearly all spheres of society.

Grassroots democracy

A policy of grassroots democracy means the increased realization of decentralized and direct democracy. We start from the premise that priority must always be given to the decision of the base. Surveyable and decentralized basic units (local, community, district) should be given extensive autonomy and rights of self-government. Grassroots democracy, however, requires comprehensive organization and coordination if an ecological policy is to be carried through at the level of public decision-making against strong opposition. In all political spheres we support the idea of strengthening the participation of the people affected by introducing elements of direct democracy for deciding on major schemes with regional, state and federal referenda.

Our internal organizational life and our relationship to the people who support and vote for us is the exact opposite of that of the established parties in Bonn. They are neither able nor willing to

authoritarian forms of management, etc.) As with the Green's ecological policy, there is a lot of fine rhetoric, but little evidence of any intent to make (or even awareness of) the fundamental changes which would be necessary to carry out all the fine ideas. This incoherence, along with all the opportunistic tendencies encouraged by the Greens' parliamentarist orientation, virtually assures the Greens' ultimate failure.

The Green position on grassroots democracy likewise falls far short of genuine radicalism, though it goes about as far as one could ever expect to see in its internal political party organizational democracy. At the level of public decision-making only "elements" of direct democracy are to be introduced. There is no commitment to substitute a system of direct democracy for the indirect political and economic decision-making bodies

accept new approaches and ideas, nor the concerns of the democratic movement. Because of this we have decided to form a new type of party organization, the basic structures of which are set up in a grassroots-democratic and decentralized way; the two things cannot in fact be separated. A party which did not have this kind of structure would never be in a position to convincingly pursue an ecological policy in the context of parliamentary democracy. The central idea in this respect is the continuous control of all office holders, delegates and institutions by the rank and file (through publicity and a time limitation, for example), together with replaceability at any time so as to make organization and policy transparent to everyone and to counter the dissociation of individuals from their base.

Nonviolent

We aim at a nonviolent society where the oppression of one person by another is abolished. Our foremost principle is that humane goals cannot be achieved by inhumane means.

Nonviolence should prevail between all human beings without exception, within social groups and with society as a whole, between population groups and between nations.

The principle of nonviolence does not affect the fundamental right of self-defence and includes social resistance in its various forms. In the long run resistance can be carried out most effectively in a social manner, as shown by the example of the anti-nuclear movement. We are just as fundamentally opposed to the use of force between states in acts of war.

We therefore put forward an active peace policy in international relations. This means that we oppose the occupation of countries and the oppression of national groups, and support the independence and autonomy of national groups in all countries. Peace is inseparably linked with the independence of countries and the existence of democratic rights. Worldwide disarmament is a must. Nuclear, biological and chemical weapons must be destroyed on world scale, and troops must be withdrawn from foreign territories.

Nonviolence does not exclude active social resistance, and so does not mean passivity for those involved. The principle of nonviolence means that resistance against government measures is not only legitimate in certain circumstances, it may even be essential for people to defend their vital interests against an authority which escapes their control (for example sit-ins, blocking of roads, obstruction of vehicles).

which currently exist. Lacking the political will to make this fundamental change, more than any other weakness in its programme, means that the Greens' primary function will remain the channelling of radical discontent into safely reformist demands.

In the abstract very few people would admit to desiring anything but a "nonviolent society." However, reality always seems to intervene in such pipe-dreams. Despite all the rationalizations of the philosophers, political power and political legitimacy are ultimately always based upon violence and the threat of violence. There is no such thing as, nor will there ever be such a thing as, a nonviolent political state. The very concept involves a contradiction in terms. Until pacifists confront this fact, all their moralistic rhetoric will remain only a hypocritical mask for their indirect support of the violence of hierarchical and authoritarian institutions like the state.

If there is significant interest in the Greens' programme indicated in our correspondence, we shall continue reprinting the other sections of this programme. Write to Anarchy, c/o C.A.L., P.O.B. 380, Columbia, MO 65205.

THE PAPALAGI

STONE CRATES, STONE ISLANDS, FISSURES AND THE THINGS IN BETWEEN

Continued from page 4
their hoofs and the people slapping it with their hard footskins; from the children screaming and the men shouting. And shouting they all do, for joy or fear. It's impossible to make yourself heard, unless you shout too. There's a rattling, booming, swishing and pounding going on as if you're standing on the cliffs of Savaii during a heavy storm. But even that noise is friendly and doesn't rob you of your voice the way it happens with the noise of the stone fissures.

In between these stone islands lies the true land called Europe. Out there, there are regions just as beautiful and fertile as our islands. Over there, there are trees, rivers and woods and also real villages.

In those villages other people live than in the towns, people of a different character. They are called country-folk. They have bigger hands and dirtier loincloths. Their life is much healthier and more beautiful than that of the people from the fissures, but they are not aware of that. They are jealous of the town people, whom they call lazybones because they don't work the soil, plant the fruits and pull them out again. They live in animosity with each other, for they have to give them food from their lands, they have to pluck the fruits for the fissure-people to eat,

they have to raise and care for the cattle until it has grown fat and then they have to give away half to the others. Of course it is difficult to provide all those town people with food and they do not rightly understand why those lazybones wear cleaner loincloths and have nicer, whiter hands than them and why they don't have to sweat in the sunshine and shiver in the cold rain.

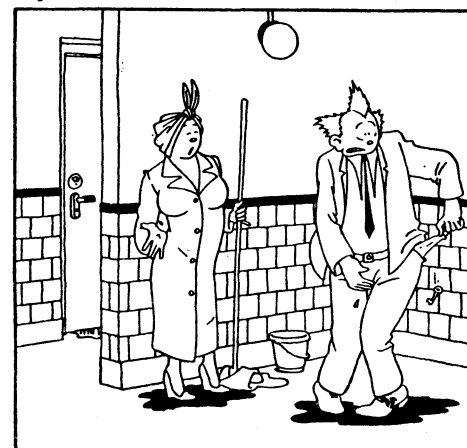
The people from the fissures don't care very much about that. They are convinced that they have more rights than the country people and that their work is more important than planting vegetables in the soil. Still that conflict amongst the Papalagi is not severe enough to result in warfare. But whether they live in the country or in the cracks, the Papalagi in general likes the things the way they are. The country-man admires the living places of the crack-people when he comes there occasionally and the crack-people gurgle and sing with all their might when they pass through a village in the country. The people from the cracks let the countryfolk fatten their pigs artificially and the countryfolk let them build their

People like us would suffocate rapidly in crates like that, for there's never any breeze like there is in every Samoan hut.

stone crates and rejoice in that.

These stone crates with all those people, these deep fissures of stone intertwining like long rivers, the hustle and bustle, the black smoke and the dirt floating overhead without one single tree, without a spot of blue sky or nice clouds, all this together is called "town" by the Papalagi. The town is his creation and his great pride. People are living there that have never seen a tree or a wood, who have never seen the clear sky and never met the Great Spirit face to face, people living like the crawling animals in the lagoons or the coral reefs, though these animals at least are washed over by the clear seawater and kissed by the warm lips of the sun-rays. Are the Papalagi proud to have assembled so many stones? I don't know. The Papalagi are people with weird tastes. For no reason at all, they do all kinds of things that make them sick, but still they take pride in them and sing odes for their own glory.

So the thing I pictured, they call a town. And there are many such towns, small and big. In the biggest one the chiefs of the country live. The towns are scattered



over the lands as our islands are scattered in the sea. Sometimes there's only a bath-road's distance between them, sometimes a day's travel. All those stone islands are connected by well cared for paths. But you can also travel in a land-ship, long and thin like a worm, throwing out smoke all the time and gliding along on long iron tracks, very fast, faster than a canoe with twelve men rowing at topspeed. But if you want to call a tafola to a friend who is far away, you need not walk or glide over to him, you can blow your words into a cord of metal that runs between one stone island and another like a long vine. Faster than a bird can fly they will arrive at their destination.

The Papalagi are people with weird tastes. For no reason at all, they do all kinds of things that make them sick, but still they take pride in them and sing odes for their own glory.

But we, free children of the sun and light, we will remain loyal to the Great Spirit and won't load down our hearts with heavy stones. Only people sick and lost, who have let go of the hand of God can live happily inside the fissures, where the sun, the wind and the light cannot enter. With pleasure we will grant the Papalagi his doubtful happiness, but we will defend ourselves against his efforts to build his stone crates in our sunny country too and kill the joy of life with stones, cracks, dirt, noise, smoke and dust, as is his intention.

The Papalagi continues in our next issue with "The round metal and the heavy paper."

THE BADGUY REPORT

The Club Dekrepit bust: two years after

Oooch! Richard King, owner of the Blue Note, makes me feel like an asshole. And I couldn't be happier. First I go banging on my typewriter about how there's no punk bands playing in town, and the very day our paper comes out The Asexuals play the Note with First Bank of Christ opening. Then he schedules a half a dozen bands that make a difference.

The Asexuals gig was fun. Lots of choral singing and jumping, reminded me of Youth Brigade. First Bank of Christ opened on two days notice and hadn't practiced in two weeks and it showed. Kathy Kat's vocals were nervy and compelling as usual. Hope she keeps this up cause since Gwynn of Natty Bumpo called it quits I've been barflying around for a woman rocker who could exorcise my guardian angel. Kat's farty rants are making his wing's twitch at least. TBN also had No Code, a local punk tune cover band debut. I missed it but got a note that they want to play on my radio show, Sleepless Frenzy. O.K. guys but I lost your phone number.

Now about those half-dozen shows. You already missed Camper Van Beethoven, unless you didn't. (Tell you 'bout them next time.) There's four shows definitely scheduled and one pending all within the space of a month. There's three you could call "hardcore."

On Thursday April 10th, Toxic Reasons is coming to town. They were the band that played the Club Dekrepit the night the cops closed the place down and busted members of several of the bands cause (unbeknownst to them) their band names were on illegally posted leaflets. That was on April 1st in 1984. Two years later, they'll be back, and us survivors and the young upstarts will congregate irreverently, challenging the Reasons to prove that they have their old edge. ...Toxic Reasons escaped arrest that night two years ago by playing earlier than they were supposed to and clearing out. The cops infiltrated the place in plain clothes and jotted down the names of the musicians. Later they stormed into the place and snagged the ones they could. Wonder if deputy porker chief, Ernie Barbee, and his hot dog gestapo will be back to try to grab these fugitive minstrels this time around.

I last saw BCR in Kansas City at Harlins Upstairs on New Years Eve. The most fun New Years party I ever had--even counting the anarchist punk fest in Greenwich village in '84. The crowd was slinky, ...shaking and sailing all over the floor. The marijuana was so strong nobody could remember to take a second toke, ...a good thing since the burly owner of the place threatened to toss us out on our ears if he caught us again. The band played for hours and hours. There were so many discrete bits and pieces that only the intense drive and showpersonship, and the ungodly talent of BCR kept the mise en scene from sputtering. I am still waiting for Dwight Frizzell, the band's frontal bozo, to bring me the duds I left behind. Dwight, a versatile cross dresser, says he will, but he's still trying to determine their gender. Anyway, the horns, drums and costumes, and the sprites who wiggle and jiggle along will be at the Blue Note on April 19th, a Saturday night.

Ed Herrmann won't make it to the gig cause he's performing in Chicago that night. Just so he remembers what he will be missing, he's treating himself and his self-indulgent cult to a BCR special on Ionizations, Monday April 14th, 10 pm to midnight (KOPN 89.5 FM).

I'll play some BCR on Saturday at midnight on Sleepless Frenzy too. Also some Naked Raygun to hype you up for their incursion on Friday, April 25th. Nothing but raves from the lips of local lunks who went all the way to Edwardsville to catch these guys. It'll be too bad if lots of people who flock to the Black Flag gig (Tuesday May 6th) sit out Naked Raygun because they lack the reputation and glamor of Black Flag.

As Vale of Re/Search says: "The (punk) movement originally had a very

political, media-wise, anti-consumerist edge that was completely sidestepped by the press in favor of the more sensational aspects surrounding certain personalities." One of the most obvious of these sensational aspects is the rock star insouciance and rugged individualist posturing of Henry Rollins. Notice how quickly Black Flag fans who should know better are willing to laugh off the indifference to oppression and overt sexism of Black Flag. Naked Raygun is surely closer to the original spirit of punk than Black Flag. And so are a half-a-dozen relatively popular bands that should be invited to Columbia. Dead Kennedys, Flipper, DOA, Frightwig, Reagan Youth, Feederz and the Skeleton Crew to name just a few from this continent.

We'll get a rare chance to see an all female rock outfit when The Pandoras play a date in very early May. Ex-Lurking Fear vocalist, Craig Dalrymple tells me they have a '60's garage punk sound. Craig's new 12 page zine is now out despite the refusal of one capitalist concern, Quickprint of Missouri, to print it because they disapproved of its radical content. Anyone out there who opposes this kind of censorship should boycott Quickprint. Send a buck or so to Craig at 1402 Pratt St., Columbia, MO 65201, for a copy of Scream!

SCENES.....Squirmed in late to Wendy's wedding reception hoping to fade into the works like a minor character from The Big Chill. Spotted Diane Dekay decked out in an art decad dress. "No woman I've ever talked to likes sex in the morning. Women like sex best in the afternoon," she advised, shoving cream cheese wedding cake through my moustache into my watering mouth....Also conspicuous by her presence was my old chum, Cow Breath Wailin' "What's the latest news on Polar Bear?" she sighed, no doubt remembering her carefree pre-nuptial days. Polar Bear will bring his instant fame and everything else he can't throw or give away, to Columbia later this month.

The Evil Jeziz gig at Catalpa Tree hailed the return of what must be Columbia's most inventive band. Klaus and Paul and Steve and Kevin are the current incarnation with the latter replacing drummer Mike Simms who nobody's heard from since he started making kites in San Francisco. The most relentlessly uninspired piece of the night came early with Steve taking to some metal ductwork with a pair of wrenches as the rest of the boys accompanied with a decomposition which really did put the pain (back?) into psychedelics. When I tried to get the guys to recreate this piece, Klaus, obviously not a believer in repetition compulsion, stomped off. Earlier he audibly scowled at my claim that I was Badgod and Evil Jeziz were my four sons. A heretic if their ever was one, that Klaus. ...Erin and Erica were on hand and feet to photograph the scene for Insanizine. But by the end they had disappeared into a sea of noise and the blackness of the night.

It was two weeks later when I caught Teresa Sweeney playing Waterful Ringtoss for the better part of an hour at the very same cafe. "This isn't a phallic game, she confided to Ann Wood, "it's the principle of envelopment that's being expressed." And she burst into spasmodic laughter as the last of the rings enveloped the rigid plasticks....

"How 'bout some juicy gossip, Ann," I cooed.

"It's real hush hush, but my impossible brother, Eric Wood is selling American flags by telephone."

Scandalous! But you know the old Pop Group tune, "we are all prostitutes. Ann played at the Chez late last month, but I'm refusing to review any of her performances until she tells me the identity of her secret crush. You know I wouldn't be indiscreet Annie!....Which reminds me Andy McCann and her group, Miss Scarlet will tough it out at the Chez on Saturday, April 12th.

Just after the government sent out its sketchy story of Nicaraguan soldiers



and rightist Nicaraguan guerillas fighting in Honduras, the Committee Against Intervention organized a rally and last(?) hurrah for Ron Cox at Lowry Mall. Why after five years of such affairs, the CAI didn't at least have a bullhorn so that others beyond their own circle could hear what was being said is beyond me. No wonder leftists are accused of preaching to the converted. Ron called on us to "oppose U.S. intervention everywhere," and the crowd cheered in approval....While we're at it let's get the U.S. government out of North America too. Though the military is not the primary mechanism of control here, it's only because schools, churches, corporations, together with

mass media and culture (not to mention one of the highest per capita rates of incarceration and institutionalization in the world) have created a submissive and conformist populace. The U.S. state usually does have to resort to explicit forms of violence against its own subjects. The middle class gets a sense of freedom from the ability to make superficial choices: to work here or there, to buy this or that, to pick from 23 channels on TV etc. Though if they ever reflect on the basic conditions of their lives, they must feel a sense of powerlessness, of having nowhere else to go. What vision is left?...and is anyone asking?

Ecology as ideology; Ecological Politics and Bioregionalism

a review by Lev Chernyi

Ecological Politics and Bioregionalism by David Haenke. Published by New Life Farm, Inc., 1984.

The last few years have seen the emergence of many new ecological philosophies, each with its own claims to being the most consistent or the most profound expression of ecological consciousness. Some of the more noteworthy of these theories have included the "social ecology" of Murray Bookchin, the theory of bioregionalism developed by the Planet Drum foundation, and one of the latest eco-fads, "deep ecology."

However, while it is becoming more and more obvious that modern, mass-industrial society is fundamentally destructive of our natural environment (and of our own human natures), it is also obvious that all the eco-theories which attempt to challenge this society tend to share the same basic defect. Rather than approaching the problem from a human perspective--a perspective which assumes the underlying integrity of our own animal natures with the rest of nature--they all tend to approach it from the opposite direction, from an abstract idea of nature to which we must conform. Rather than employing phenomenological, social and historical categories of analysis, they prefer the ideological categories of spirituality and morality.

David Haenke's perspective expressed in the 30-page booklet, **Ecological Politics and Bioregionalism**, is no different. In fact, his presentation at times seems more like a caricature of ideological ecologism than a serious attempt at practical theory. Whereas someone like Murray Bookchin has a wide understanding of the social and historical nature of our alienation from the natural world (even despite his moralistic perspective), Haenke on the contrary shows virtually no such understanding. Instead he resorts to an even more abstract and at times bizarre theoretical analysis using the categories of social alienation to delineate his ideal view of our relationship with nature!

Haenke begins his analysis with the claim that our ecological crises have their basis in "human-centered politics." He correctly observes that both multi-national corporations and nation-states all share the same imperative of development--"the greatest possible growth of wealth and power in the shortest possible time, with as little regard for the health of other nations and ecological integrity as can be gotten away with." However, rather than examining why it is that corporations and nation-states have escaped rational human control (an examination that inevitably leads to an investigation of the role of social alienation), he instead leaps directly to the mindlessly reflexive conclusion of moralists throughout the ages--that our problems are the direct result of "collective greed" and "the human imperative."

Rather than asking how it is that human beings as a part of nature have become so alienated that we are now blindly destroying our own world, Haenke prefers to ascribe original sin to our very nature as human beings! Oblivious to the social factors which lead us to become self-destructive, Haenke blames our condition on "anthropocentric politics" (and by the way labels anarchism--claiming that it is willing, like capitalism, socialism and fascism, to commit genocide, and that it now commits ecocide!). His narrowly Hobbesian view of human nature leaves no room for any conception of natural human sensitivity to our world, natural and spontaneous harmony with the forces of nature, or natural feelings of kinship with other species. Instead, his solution is to elevate the idea of nature to the status of an ideology. Nature becomes his God-substitute.

This leads to some of his more bizarre conceptions regarding nature. For Haenke, "We are not in control. In the long run, nature is in control." In control of what? Do we need to anthropomorphize our view of nature and see it as a being that controls? Is not the

Continued on page 9

Winning hearts and minds

A story by Gerry Reith

I don't know what my rank is, or even if I have one for that matter. There isn't anyone to give them out as far as I can tell. I'm not in an army, I guess, but whenever I run across people with guns they seem to be fighting, and they try to capture me and anyone else that I'm with.

Most people don't seem to think of themselves as combatants, they don't believe in the war. I tried to explain it to one guy that I was supposed to recruit (that's my job, recruiting, but not on any orders from above because there isn't any above) and I said, "There aren't any neutrals."

This turned him off. "That's what they all say when they want to get you involved," he said.

"Well, I was wrong then," I said. I knew it was a lost cause but I kept on, at least because I had to figure out just what I meant. "There are people who don't fight, who give up, they submit by default, and they think they're neutral, but there aren't any people who don't fall on one side or another. You can choose to submit, and it doesn't mean you *deserve* what you get because maybe your assessment was correct, that you couldn't win here and now. The ones who say you deserve what you get if you don't fight are the enemy, because then if they get power they'll do what they please and say you deserve it because you didn't fight. You don't have to fight, but you have to if you want something different."

I think he understood, but wanted to wait and see. Most people don't want to throw in with suicide squads when the whole point is to live better. But we need more people if it is going to be anything but a suicide squad.

I've seen every sort of action, from full-scale bombardment to infiltration, from capturing the enemy to being captured. I spent a long time in an enemy concentration camp, but I escaped because it was under the direction of people who

Ecology as ideology continued

Taoist conception of nature as a flowing, growing process a more apt way of conceptualizing it?

Haenke demands that we "recognize the existence and predominance of the system of natural law that is ultimately far older, deeper, wiser, more complete, and much more powerful than our systems of human law. This body of law is made up of the ecological laws of Earth. This is the real law of Earth." In fact he sees the role of "political ecology" as the translation and enforcement of these "laws" through bioregional government. Not only does he think that natural or ecological laws "coordinate" and "run" the natural world (as if these human conceptualizations are somehow *real* and stand above nature itself!), but he wants them to be "enforced" (presumably by eco-police!). However he does not explain why natural laws need human enforcement if they already "run every detail of the physical functioning of our own bodies and minds."

I could examine the incoherence of Haenke's vision in greater detail if there was more space in this issue, but instead I'll leave it to those of you who are interested to investigate further. Copies of *Bioregionalism and Ecological Politics*, and other related literature, are available from:

New Life Farm
Box 3
Brixey, MO. 65618

thought they were running a rehabilitation camp for people on their side who had simply lost track. It was far from the center of the fighting in a secure position, and the directors knew they were in such a solid position that they didn't need to go overboard with the security measures. I kept going after that. Before I was captured I didn't even know that I was fighting, or that there was a war going on. I've never seen any kind of base camp for our side in all this time. There's no headquarters, no capitol, no place to regroup. I think we've been scattered, as if the war was won long ago by the enemy, and everyone forgot about it that hadn't been burned. I wonder about it sometimes, though, because I know where all this ammo is stored, and there are little groups here and there who talk about the major offensive that's just around the corner. I've seen the ammo dumps, there are thousands of huge tanks and planes and guns and all, and it's all being turned out by no more than a dozen men and women on these massive machines. A few stragglers would drift in like myself every day or so and take what they could use, then leave. They all had stories about the fighting, about their local strategic goals and all, and we shared info and codes and meeting places, and signed up to go help here or there. But there were never enough of us there at one time to make use of the tanks and planes.

I went with one group and stood with them against a full scale invasion. All we had were machine guns, and we couldn't hold up so we were dispersed, and I ended up in another place where the people didn't even notice the enemy. "Look, over there, it's a tank and a bunch of army personnel."

"Tank? So?"

"But they take your food, they kill you."

"We give it to them because they need it to protect us. Besides, they only kill us when we don't give it to them."

"What if you starve?"

"If we get hungry we can always join their army, then we have all we need."

"Wouldn't it be simpler to just get rid of them and keep your food? You obviously don't get enough to eat." The one I was talking to was a mother with a child, the child had a bloated stomach, classic symptom.

"But if we got rid of them, why, then there wouldn't be anybody to make sure we tended our fields!"

Sometimes there are people living in an area where the invasion hasn't taken place, or where the army is weak and could be overthrown with a minimal effort. I establish some contacts, then scout out ahead with a few people. Others get sent back to the warehouses to bring back the weapons we'll need. Hardly anyone goes, though.

"But the tanks are coming!"

"Tanks? Show us these tanks, we don't see any."

The new contacts are exasperated along with me, but we don't do any good, and the tanks roll in, usually to the sound of a parade.

Then there are the few who

know about the tanks, the ones who say the only way to resist is to paint the tanks at night, make them look stupid. But the food still gets taken at gunpoint.

In all of this one group is the most frustrating, and one is most able to bring on fits of despair. The first ones are the people who have seen the tanks, who know that the food gets stolen, but who don't believe in our warehouses.

"You don't have enough weapons to stop them," they say, "so just go away and stop bothering us."

"But I've seen them! All we need is people to staff these weapons, then we can win!"

"Humbug, you're just giving us false hopes."

"Free for the taking, tons and tons, bombs that will smash a hundred enemy tanks!"

They snicker and still refuse to believe.

The worst of all, I suppose,

the ones that bring on despair, are the people in the enclaves who resist us. They hate the enemy, but they fight us, too, even when they know the enemy is on the way and that we would help. They think they're strong when they can beat off a single corporal, a scout, armed with one beat-up gun, with their pitchforks and hoes. They're all proud of their accomplishments, crowing at night, but they haven't seen the tanks.

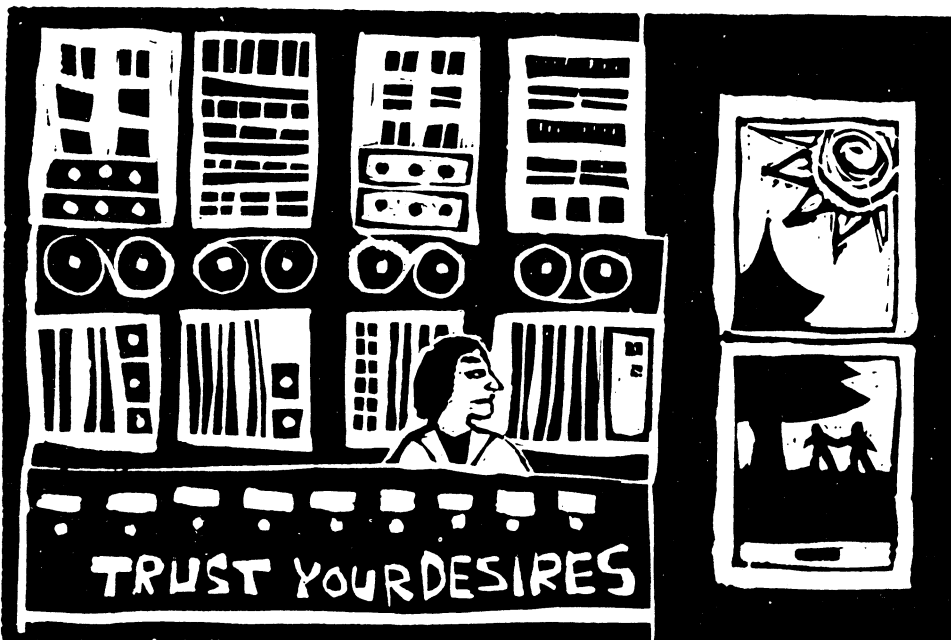
"We have enough weapons, leave us alone," they laugh.

"You'll be sorry," I reply, not a very good recruiter after all.

"Anyway, if we lose we'll join up with the invaders and then we'll be okay."

Well, maybe so. But I've seen those tanks, the ones they were too afraid to check out, and I've seen the warehouses, and I've seen the increasing number of people who go to the warehouses. By now the warehouses are secure against invasion, even if they can't launch an offensive. And nobody likes a mercenary; in the end, no matter which side wins, the mercenary loses.

This story has been reprinted from *A Good Day To Die*, available from John Bennett, VAGABOND PRESS, #1 Morris Way, Eburg, WA. 98826.



The word is getting out that folks are no longer interested in continuing to reproduce this brutalized and brutally empty society. An erosion of the core values necessary for its survival is already far advanced, and the desperate if feeble response of Reaganism has already flopped.

In recent years the idea that there is a positive value to a lifetime consumed by wage-labor and shopping seems to have evaporated. Productivity (output-per-hour worked) has been declining since the mid-70's. Unions are unpopular and increasingly a formal part of corporate management, called upon to shoulder more of the combat against the anti-work syndrome of absenteeism, contempt for authority, drugs, turnover, etc.

Since the '60's elections attract fewer and fewer voters; the humiliation of helping to install one's masters is widespread. Shoplifting and all manner of evading taxes are soaring phenomena. Since mid-1980 over 500,000 19- and 20-year olds have said 'no thanks' to mandatory pre-draft registration. An 80-year old trend is now reversing itself in the high schools, as the dropout rate climbs.

The anti-human garbage of a rotting system — from factories to computers to freeways to neutron bombs — must be destroyed and will be destroyed. The riots, lootings, and burning in Zurich, Amsterdam, throughout Britain, and in the cities of Germany in the past year will come to America. And it won't come soon enough for us. Breakdown begins at home.

The society that abolishes all adventure makes the abolition of that society the only real adventure.

Anti-Authoritarians Anonymous, P.O.B. 11331, Eugene, OR. 97440



Letters

We would like to encourage readers to write us in order to open a dialogue both with those who are sympathetic and those who are critical of anarchist theory and practice. All letters to ANARCHY will be printed with the author's initials unless it is specifically stated that her/his full name may be used, or that s/he wishes to remain anonymous. We will try to print every letter that we receive for publication, as long as they are not redundant, overly long, or unreadable. Address your letters to ANARCHY, c/o Columbia Anarchist League, P.O.B. 380, Columbia, MO. 65205.

Great graphics

Hi,
Here's my subscription for 6 issues--great graphics!
Thanks,
D.M., Columbia, MO.

Wasted paper

Anarchy,
I would appreciate it if you would not leave your publication at my residence. It's a waste of my time and your paper. Thank you.
Sincerely,
C.P., Columbia, MO.

(Editor's note: It's always nice to hear from open-minded and enquiring people who are interested in exploring new ideas and perspectives.)

Lively reading

Dear Lev,
Thanx for the copies of Anarchy--they are pretty lively reading. We were more than pleasantly surprised to see the excerpts from Gerry Reith's *Neutron Gun*. Thanx for the exposure!

We also enjoyed reading Gerry's response a few issues back to your *Anarchfesto*. The dialog your paper supports seems much more open to the non-aligned segments of the anarchist community than many of the publications we see.

As for our work with The Neither/Nor Press, we feel our politics are better expressed by what we do rather than what we say. Personally, I feel that if we can live our lives as if we are already free, then for all intents and purposes, we are free!

I am suspicious of all vanguardists--and The Neither/Nor Press is not interested in reaching an audience on "the cutting edge of the avant-garde." We more readily identify with the greasy fingers that hold the knife.

Best wishes,
D.M., Ann Arbor, MI.

(Editor's note: As far as I can see we precisely can't live our lives "as if we are already free," and that's why we're not free!)

Buddhist anarchy?

Anarchists,
I'm interested in finding out more about your views and ideology. I accidentally ran into the Feb./March issue of *Anarchy*; a journal of desire armed and was fascinated to find your ideas similar to my own. Have you or other writers for *Anarchy* ever explored the connections (philosophically) between Anarchy and Mahayana Buddhism? I would appreciate any back issues that you could send.

Thanks,
E.C., Columbia, MO.

Lev Chernyi replies

Your question regarding philosophical connections between anarchy and Mahayana requires a complex answer because there are no simple or straightforward connections or disjunctions. The great majority of anarchists have traditionally been atheists. However, there have also always been "Christian anarchists" (witness Leo Tolstoy, Dorothy Day, Ammon Hennocq) and other anarchists who have identified strongly with various religious traditions or doctrines. Unfortunately, many anarchists have also been (and remain) atheists for the wrong, or at least for inadequate, reasons--identifying with a simplistic and vulgar philosophical or "scientific" materialism or some type of idealist philosophy.

However, there have also always been anarchists who have attempted to go beyond the obvious contradictions of both religious anarchists and their materialist and idealist counterparts to a more dialectical, cri-

tical and phenomenological perspective. Most often these people have developed their views from within the western atheist philosophical traditions, but many also have found inspiration from suppressed western pagan traditions, from within various eastern philosophical traditions (primarily the early Taoists), or from the new synthetic, surreal hybrids like the Church of the Subgenius, the Discordians, the Erisians, etc.

Although I am sure there are probably Mahayana anarchists running around somewhere (as well as a more numerous bunch of Zen anarchists like Gary Snyder), I can't think of any developed investigation of the relationship between anarchy and Mahayana Buddhism that has seen print--unlike for example the numerous studies comparing Taoism and anarchism.

My own perspective has developed primarily from my encounters with Max Stirner's brilliant subversion of the western philosophical tradition in *The Ego and Its Own* (1844), the Taoist vision of Lao-Tse's *Tao-te-ching*, and the Gestaltist philosophies of Paul Goodman (*Gestalt Therapy*, etc.) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (*The Phenomenology of Perception*, etc.).

With Mahayana Buddhism I share a concern with distinguishing our pre-conceptual, lived realities from their representations in language, convention, symbol, etc. Or as the Korzybskians say "you have to distinguish the map from the territory." And in a certain sense I can agree that the usual idea people have of "the ego" is a conventional or symbolic entity more than a description of the reality we live

through (The "ego" in Max Stirner's terminology stands instead for the self as a process.). I can also find a definite sympathy with the doctrine of "not grasping," or as the Taoists more clearly put it, the idea of "wu-wei" or spontaneous action.

However, my major concern is with alienation (or reification, commodification, domination, etc.) considered in all its manifestations, and especially as it is mutually reinforced by both individual habits and conventional social relationships. Mahayana, it seems to me on the contrary, is generally more interested in the cultivation of a spiritualist (and thus dualist) interpretation of the world which usually ends up approaching only a narrowly conceived part of the whole of alienation, and even then, only in a distorted way. I am certainly no expert on Buddhism, but my impression is that even within the Mahayana school there is much too much deification of the Buddha(s), too much self-denial (the ego as "evil"), and too much spiritualist dualism (as opposed to the radical monism of lived experience and its dialectical thematization--for lack of a better word). And this is even despite some of Mahayana's more libertarian and anti-ideological teachings. (By the way, contrary to the implication of your enquiry, we do not profess an "ideology" of anarchism, rather we attempt to criticize all ideologization of theory.) Of course, anarchist philosophies and movements diverge most notably with Mahayana where social action is concerned. Whereas Buddhists often seem to scorn radical social/political activities and the idea of fundamentally changing the structures of our social world, these constitute some of the major concerns of anarchists.

Anarchy makes sense

Dear Lev,
Received your note and was glad to hear from you. I also want to thank you for having the books sent. I am trying to figure out this world of ours and so far anarchism/libertarianism is one of the few things that make sense.

I find myself wondering what it will take for the majority of people to realize that they have only the illusion of freedom. I guess most are contented to be left alone with their color TV's, microwave ovens and Toyotas. I guess that old saying things will have to get worse before they get better is true.

The book you sent by Max Stirner, *The Ego and Its Own*, I haven't finished yet. So far I have found it extremely thought provoking. Although I must say I found some parts very deep and hard to explain or understand exactly what point he was trying to make....

Well, thanks again for the books. Write if you have the time.

For Anarchy,
P.B., Pacific, MO.

Irreverent passion

Hello,
Thanx for *Anarchy*. I liked its irreverence and passion. From receiving different publications, I've learned (once again) of the difference between anarchists and marxists--whereas the latter demand payments in advance (with a seal of approval from the central committee?), anarchists ask for donations, stamps, or are willing to give things out free.... What's wrong with these anarchists? Why don't they play by the rules of the market?

Anyway,...another collective member and I are trying to stir things up among Portland anarchists (a label I don't like, being too inclusive, but handy nevertheless), and after a few years of devoting my time to being a parent, working, doing videos, etc. have called for another meeting of all local anti-authoritarians. Should be fun to see who turns up. Please send us further issues of your magazine....

A.R., Laughing Horse Books
Portland, OR.

Low on ammunition

Dear C.A.L.,
I was recently sent issues 8 & 9 of *Anarchy*, via *The Fifth Estate*. So naturally I read them. So now I'd like to subscribe.

Here in Santa Cruz, where I live, the town is known as "progressive," which means: peace marches, blindly pro-Sandinista stances, fetishized non-violence. The very height of bourgeois liberalism! But I stand in opposition to present society in its totality (usually by myself, I'm afraid), or at least I try to. Help! A line to the outside world! Help! Send me *Anarchy*, my desire is low on ammunition!

Thanks for letting me ramble, and I'll keep struggling here, refusing to be silenced.

Thanks,
M.H., Santa Cruz, CA.

"I hate you all"

Editor's note: The following letter is printed exactly as it was received.)

I'm writing a letter to your punk newspaper's I hate you punk anarchists and I bet you don't have the nerve to print this in your newspaper. I'm a local hippie and don't like anything or trend that takes away from the Uitimate movement the hippie movement. I wish a disease like aids would infect all you punks and you would all die off like I hope all homosexuals die off. I'm declaring my own war on all of you punks I hate you all forever.

Your truly,
The Party animal

Badguy replies

Aw c'mon, let's kiss and make up.



Frans Masereel (1889-1972). From *L'Idée*, published by NAUTILUS, CP 1311, 10100 Torino, Italy

Letters continued

Compost "anarchy"

C.AnarchyL.,

Please take us off your mailing list and don't send us any more publications.

Promoting anarchism may be an interesting and entertaining diversion in academic enclave cities like Columbia, but in the rural areas it's very detrimental to our work to have this stuff sent to us. If you really wanted to do some real work you would compost the word anarchy and do something real.

Basically I see the anarchist movement as self-indulgent, counterproductive, and irrelevant at the present time. It seems to be mostly macho posturing for ego-definition. The eco-anarchists have something 1/2 sensible to say, but they had the sense to change their name to social ecology.

I don't want to sound harsh in all this, but the fact is that as anarchism is presently promoted, by the present people who promote it, it discredits everything it's associated with that is positive + productive. If you keep it up and get more effective at it, eventually agents of some government are going to come to you and offer to pay you to do it: i.e. ally you (sic) rhetoric with peace, environment, and other such movements in order to discredit them. Think about it.

Why not use your considerable intelligence for something constructive and effective, like community gardens. Enclosed is some mulch (a copy of Anarchy).

Hopefully,
D.H. and New Life Farm staff
Brixey, MO.

Lev Chernyi replies

It is interesting to see such blatant hostility revealed by D.H., someone who has attempted to become a spokesman and organizer for bioregionalism and what he calls "political ecology." It is also interesting to note that his rather incoherent attack focusses on ad hominem arguments (personal attacks, appeals to emotion and prejudice) and a morbid fear of the word "anarchy." Like other would-be politicians, he seems to be much more concerned about images than about substance. Rather than presenting us with reasoned arguments for or against aspects of anarchist theory and/or practice, he indulges in a wholesale rejection based upon unsupported generalizations. We are curious why our attempt to exchange publications with New Life Farm is "detrimental to their work"? How is the anarchist movement as a whole any more or less "self-indulgent" than bioregionalism, "political ecology," or other movements D.H. finds more acceptable like the greens or the new-ageists? The same can be asked regarding "macho posturing for ego-definition." We can understand a rationally expressed concern for the popular prejudices (so assiduously cultivated by reactionaries, cops and the mass media) one must confront when using a loaded term like "anarchy." However, we cannot excuse the mindless hostility to the anarchist movement shown by so many self-righteous, self-appointed defenders of other "alternative" movements. The anarchist movement has been around for nearly 150 years, and it will probably still be around long

after all the more superficial and faddist movements have come and gone. This is because the idea and practice of anarchy have a very unique and real meaning for those who are ready for it, whereas those addicted to the superficiality of style and image are always on the lookout for more new and more fashionable (though always ultimately unsatisfying) fads to join.

Venezuelan anarchists

Dear Friends of Anarchy,

From this Latin American land I send you warm greetings, hoping this finds you in good health. I found out about you through the English periodical **Black Flag** of Dec. 17, 1985.

I would like to have some contact with you; if you could send me some past issues I'd very much appreciate it.

Here in Venezuela we're trying to create an Anarchist Federation. In the past year we've had three meetings to discuss the possibilities....

San Mateo is a town about ten kilometers from the capital, Caracas. It's possible that Simon Bolívar, the Liberator, was born here. The town is historically known for its battles in the last century.

This year the government has raised the prices of bread, coffee, gasoline and powdered milk. Our economic situation these days is not good. The official unemployment figures show 739,871 persons without jobs (or 12.5%), from a total of 5,918,973 in the active workforce. We know that the true number of unemployed is more than a million. Our country has slightly more than 16 million inhabitants. More than half are under 30 years old. Our currency was devalued from 4.3 per US dollar to more than 15 per dollar. The anarchist movement in Venezuela is relatively young. The experience of the Spanish who fought in the Civil War and came to live in this country has acquainted us with libertarian ideas. They have also come to Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Mexico, and other Latin American countries. Also we've studied Bakunin, Proudhon, Godwin, Lorenzo, Kropotkin, Malatesta and others. This has helped us understand the libertarian classics. Also there are people who fought with the guerrillas in the 1970's, under the guidance of the Communist Party of Cuba, which, as we later found out, betrayed the ideals of liberty of the people of Cuba. Many of these people now believe that the anarchist movement is in reality the movement which propagates and defends freedom.

This letter is an introduction. I hope, my friends, that you can write to me soon. FOR THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST MOVEMENT!
G.P., Nucleo Anarquista Gaviota
San Mateo, Venezuela

Anarcho-situationism

Dear C.A.L. Companeros,

We have recently received your Anarchy #10 with your "As we see it!" insert. We also got a little note from Lev Chernyi seeking communication from us so we are writing back with a general response to your "As we see it!" statement.

From the basis of this aforementioned text, we must define the orientation of your group as anarcho-situationism.

This is not a slur on your perspective since we, too, identify with much of this "tendency" & with what you say & in the manner in which you say it.

Our "tendency" we call left or libertarian or anti-state communism. At the same time, as yourselves, we have absorbed much of the revolutionary theory & practice of Marx, the anarchists, Reich, & and the S.I. (editor's note: Situationist International). Right now, our major difference with the C.A.L. would center on defining the subjective agency of social revolution, how the movement concretely advances & and what is the relationship of conscious revolutionaries--the minority of the proletariat--to the...working class, at large. Members of our, as yet unorganized, "tendency" plan to meet in Chicago during the Haymarket commemorative events & by that time we hope to have released the first issue of our journal--**The Angry Worker's Bulletin**. Briefly reviewing your "As we see it!" statement, we agree with your description of social alienation except that for contemporary society it has a more specific name/form--capital. Just because leftists babble incoherently about "capitalism" & "imperialism" is not an excuse to hide behind the wider concept of "alienation," which itself can serve as a vehicle to social democratic/liberal backsliding. Only in its Marxian description, which is how you use it, but fail to acknowledge this, does "alienation" make any sense. To talk about "alienation" in modern society, one has to talk about capitalism in depth, about classes, about the workers' movement, etc. After all, "alienation" is the natural historic form of all our specie's interaction with itself and nature, so far. Your sections on character & ideology are very refreshing to see in an "anarchist" document, & should be especially applied to the "anti-authoritarian movement" vis-a-vis "false opposition," "partial opposition" and "recuperation." The summary on "the spectacle" is very good--the institution of mass media is one of the main weapons of the contemporary bourgeoisie.

We think you are slightly off target when you see "Marxist-Leninist" groups as the most obvious expressions of false opposition. It's the Left as a whole, as an integral part of capitalism, which poses the greatest obstacle to "radical opposition" which we would define as revolutionary proletarian opposition. Therefore, we see recuperative dangers in such things as "rank & file workers groups," "anarcho-syndicalist unions," "study circles," "free schools," "punk clubs," "cultural institutions," etc. How can these be distinguished from instances of what you term "depressurization"? For us, genuine forms of radical opposition--the Third Force, the autonomy of the working class, neither the Left nor the Right--can only come into existence during moments of genuine social upheaval (e.g. general or mass strikes) when repressive character features tend to dissolve wholesale. Just look at the euphoria in the Philippines recently where Aquino & the Church are continually trying to contain an "uncontrollable" surge of Bakuninist energy by the urban working/unemployed masses.

Finally, what is the C.A.L. position on the Processed World/Bob Black dispute? What is your attitude toward "revolutionary Nicaragua"?

Salud, amor y lucha,
T.L., Tampa Workers Affinity
Group, Tampa, FL.

Lev Chernyi replies

Although we have obviously been influenced by the Situationist International, I'm not sure we necessarily deserve to be called "anarcho-situationists," especially since we have also absorbed many other diverse influences. However, be that as it may, we are glad to hear from another group which holds some similar perspectives to our own (as they were presented in "As we see it!"). Speaking only for myself, regarding your areas of disagreement with us, I'll try to give you a little better understanding of my positions.

First of all, you are basically correct in saying that our contemporary form of social

Want to express your thoughts? Write to us!

alienation can be more specifically called "capital." But I don't usually use this word/concept in introductory remarks because it's hard enough to get across the more general (and historically less limited) concept of social alienation. The task of conveying the meaning that capital (as the currently dominant form of social alienation) has for this epoch is formidable, since as you say, it has become a relatively meaningless term due to all the incoherent leftist "babble." In the next edition of our statement, however, I'll see if we can't at least suggest its significance, even if we don't have the space to do the concept justice.

I'm not sure what you mean when you say that the "wider concept of 'alienation'" can lead to "social democratic/liberal backsliding." Nor can I agree that the concept of alienation "only makes sense" in its Marxian description. Marx certainly developed some of the important political and especially the economic dimensions of the concept, but he was hardly alone in this--and he also managed at the same time to hinder the recognition of other just as important dimensions, ultimately resulting in the economic and authoritarian emphasis of Marxism.

As I see it, the understanding of class divisions is important, but hardly deserves the central place in any discussion of alienation. Here I am much more sympathetic with Max Stirner's perspective in particular, and the more perceptive of the individualist anarchists' perspectives in general. Beginning an analysis from the proletariat and class struggle too easily lends itself to the ideological suppression of the individual. And in modern society, simple economic analyses are no longer as compelling as they once were. People (such as myself) are more and more likely to begin from a perception of the importance of radical subjectivity, and only move from there on to the notions of class consciousness and class struggle, considered as secondary phenomena. Here, Murray Bookchin's and others' analyses of the relative poverty of a strictly economic and class orientation are pertinent, though inadequate.

Regarding your contention that "It's the left as a whole, as an integral part of capitalism, which poses the greatest obstacle to 'radical opposition'"; I am fairly well in agreement. Just because I used the example of Marxist-Leninist groups to illustrate the concept of false opposition doesn't mean that I believe they are an especially significant obstacle compared with the rest of the left.

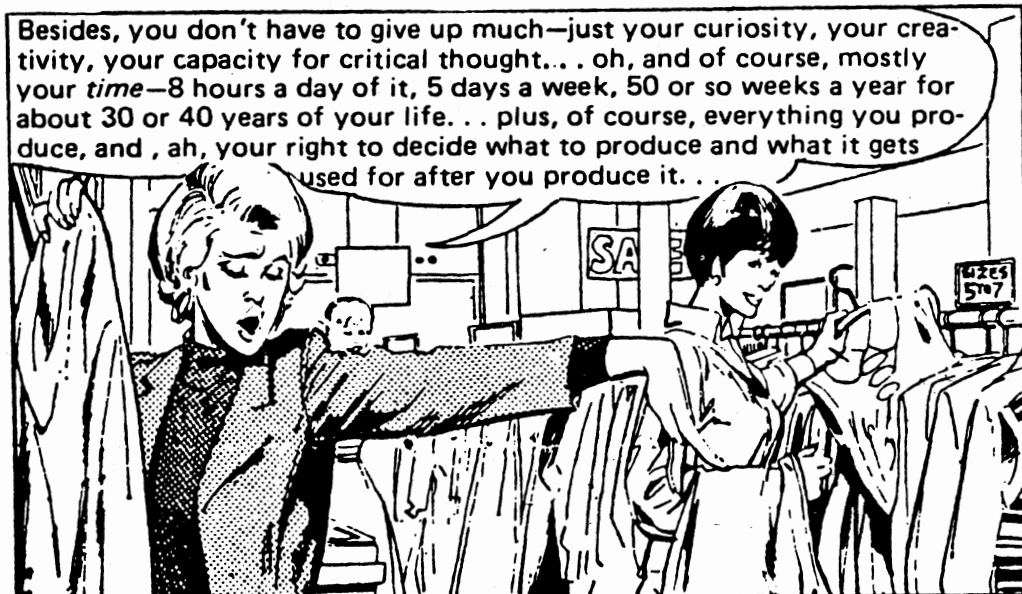
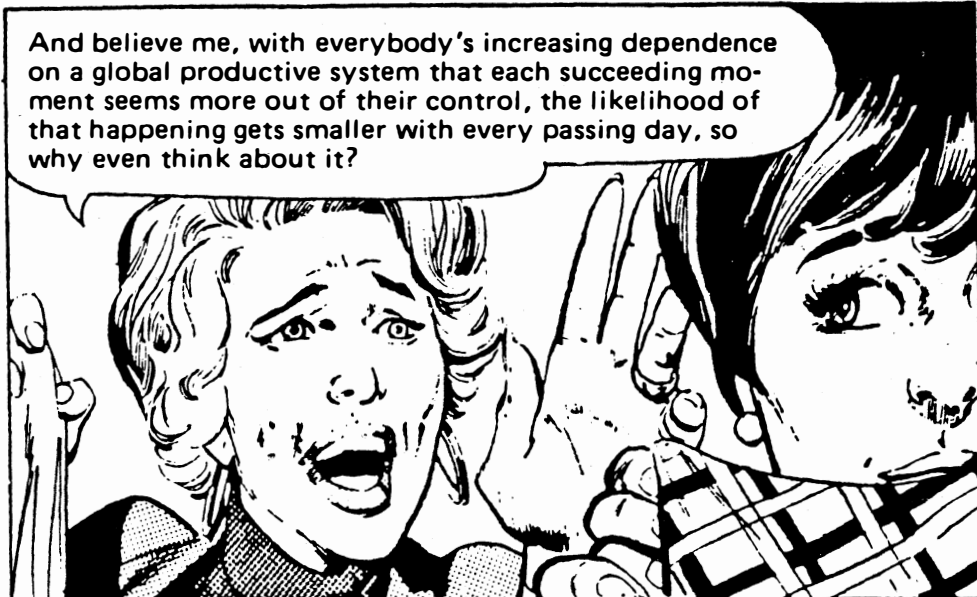
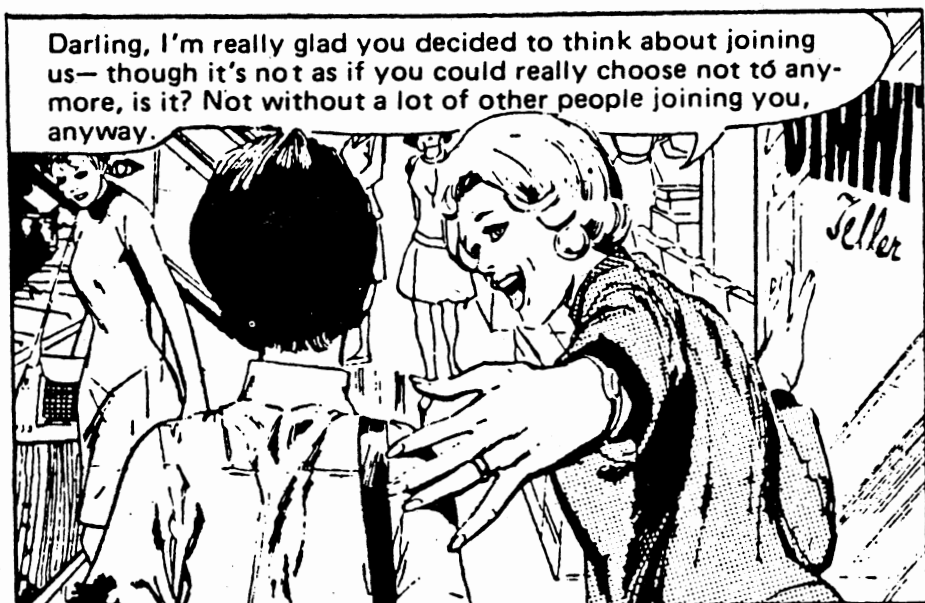
As well, we are aware of the recuperative dangers inherent in any organizations, institutions, or movements, including anarchist and situationist groups. And it is also true that a genuinely revolutionary movement can only exist as "a movement of genuine social upheaval." However, for such upsurges to ever be successful, they must spring from a ground that has been cultivated and developed by a movement which is aware of recuperative tendencies, but which is also not afraid to work in the real world, here and now.

Finally, the C.A.L. as a whole is not in agreement regarding the Processed World/Bob Black dispute, and we will probably present more of our perspective on "revolutionary Nicaragua" in future issues.

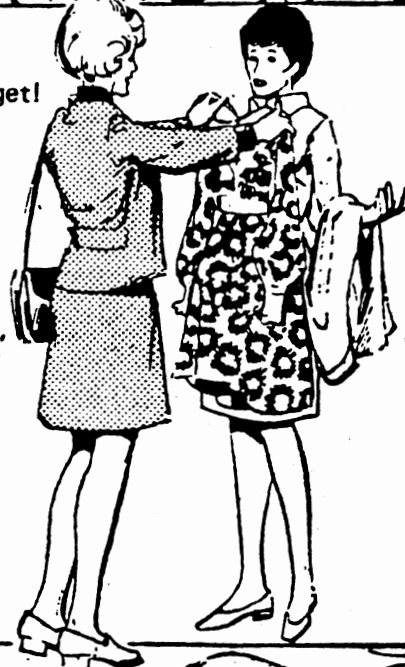


Frans Masereel (1889-1972). From *L'Idée*, published by NAUTILUS, CP 1311, 10100 Torino, Italy

... AS WE JOIN MIDGE AND CINDY, CINDY HAS RELUCTANTLY AGREED TO CONSIDER JOINING THE WORKFORCE; READ ON ...



But just look at what you can get! You can buy this, or anything else here you want, anything you see! Isn't that marvellous! And you can even buy things you can't see, like a life-style, or a sense of well-being, or the admiration of your neighbors and co-workers for your stereo, or your car, or your clothes, or your house, or anything!



Why not get together with some friends soon and say NO! Say no to the draft, or work, or religion, or authority figures, or school; say no to television, patriotism, political ideologies, any of the thousand and one ways in which this society keeps you from realizing your own needs and desires. You'll find the more you do it, the more you'll like it!

**JUST SAY "FUCK OFF."
YOU'LL GET
A LOT OF SATISFACTION.**